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GREAT BRITAIN'S PEACE TERMS

In the words of Premier Lloyd-George, January 5, 1918.

1. The complete restoration, political, territorial, and economic, of independence of Belgium and such reparation as can be made for the devastation of its towns and provinces.

2. The restoration of Serbia, Montenegro, and the occupied parts of France, Italy, and Rumania. The complete withdrawal of the allied (Teutonic) armies and the reparation for injustice done is a fundamental condition of permanent peace.

3. A reconciliation of the great wrong of 1871, when, without any regard to the wishes of the population, two French provinces were torn from the side of France and incorporated in the German Empire. This sore has poisoned the peace of Europe for half a century, and, until it is cured, healthy conditions will not have been restored.

4. Russia can only be saved by her own people. Great Britain cannot be held accountable for decisions, taken in her absence, and concerning which she has not been consulted or her aid invoked.

5. An independent Poland, comprising all those genuinely Polish elements who desire to form a part of it.

6. Genuine self-government on true democratic principles to those Austro-Hungarian nationalities who have long desired it.

7. The satisfaction of the legitimate claims of the Italians for union with those of their own race and tongue.

8. Justice done to the men of Rumanian blood and speech in their legitimate aspirations.

9. The passage between the Mediterranean and the Black Sea internationalized and neutralized.

10. Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine entitled to a recognition of their separate national conditions.

11. Decision as to the German colonies must have primary regard to the wishes and interests of the native inhabitants of such colonies. The governing consideration must be to prevent their exploitation for the benefit of European capitalists or governments.

12. Reparation for the injuries done in violation of international law.

13. The settlement after this war shall be one which does not in itself bear the seed of future war. A great attempt must be made to establish, by some international organization, an alternative to war as a means of settling international disputes.

WE ARE FIGHTING FOR A JUST AND LASTING PEACE

We believe that before peace can be hoped for three conditions must be fulfilled: First, the sanctity of treaties must be re-established; secondly, a territorial settlement must be secured, based on the right of self-determination or the consent of the governed; and, lastly, we must seek, by the creation of some international organization, to limit the burden of armaments and diminish the probability of war. On these conditions its peoples are prepared to make even greater sacrifices than those they have yet endured.

BRITISH LABOR'S PEACE POLICY

THE following pronunciamento is the full text of the statement of war aims and peace policy of the British Labor movement, as adopted at the special National Labor Conference in Central Hall, Westminster, on December 28, 1917:

1. THE WAR

The British Labor movement sees no reason to depart from the declaration unanimously agreed to at the Conference of the Socialist and Labor parties of the Allied nations on February 14, 1915, and it reaffirms that declaration. Whatever may have been the causes of the outbreak of war, it is clear that the peoples of Europe, who are necessarily the chief sufferers from its horrors, had themselves no hand in it. Their common interest is now so to conduct the terrible struggle in which they find themselves engaged as to bring it, as soon as may be possible, to an issue in a secure and lasting peace for the world.

2. MAKING THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY

Whatever may have been the causes for which the war was begun, the fundamental purpose of the British Labor movement in supporting the continuance of the struggle is that the world may henceforth be made safe for democracy.

Of all the war aims, none is so important to the peoples of the world as that there shall be henceforth on earth no more war. Whoever triumphs, the people will have lost unless some effective method of preventing war can be found.

As means to this end, the British Labor movement relies very largely upon the complete democratization of all countries; on the frank abandonment of every form of imperialism; on the suppression of secret diplomacy, and on the placing of foreign policy, just as much as home policy, under the control of popularly elected legislatures; on the absolute responsibility of the Foreign Minister of each country to its legislature; on such concerted action as may be possible for the universal abolition of compulsory military service in all countries, the common limitation of the costly armaments by which all peoples are burdened, and the entire abolition of profit-making armament firms, whose pecuniary interest lies always in war scares and rivalry in preparation for war.

But it demands, in addition, that it should be an essential part of the treaty of peace itself that there should be forthwith established a supernational authority, or League of Nations, which should not only be adhered to by all the present belligerents, but which every other independent sovereign State in the world should be pressed to join; the immediate establishment of such League of Nations not only of an International High Court for the settlement of all disputes between States that are of justiciable nature, but also of appropriate machinery for prompt and effective mediation between States at issue that are not justiciable; the formation of an International Legislature, in which the representatives of every civilized State would have their allotted share; the gradual development, as far as may prove to be possible, of international legislation agreed to by and

definitely binding upon the several States, and for a solemn agreement and pledge by all States that every issue between any two or more of them shall be submitted for settlement as aforesaid, and that they will all make common cause against any State which fails to adhere to this agreement.

3. TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS

The British Labor movement has no sympathy with the attempts made, now in this quarter and now in that, to convert this war into a war of conquest, nor should the struggle be prolonged for a single day, once the conditions of a permanent peace can be secured, merely for the sake of extending the boundaries of any State.

But it is impossible to ignore the fact that not only restitution and reparation, but also certain territorial readjustments, are required if a renewal of armaments and war is to be avoided. These readjustments must be such as can be arrived at by common agreement on the general principle of allowing all people to settle their own destinies and for the purpose of removing any obvious cause of future international conflict.

(a) BELGIUM

The British Labor movement emphatically insists that a foremost condition of peace must be the reparation by the German Government, under the direction of an International Commission, of the wrong admittedly done to Belgium; payment by that government for all the damage that has resulted from this wrong, and the restoration of Belgium to complete and untrammelled independent sovereignty, leaving to the decision of the Belgian people the determination of their own future policy in all respects.

(b) ALSACE AND LORRAINE

The British Labor movement reaffirms its reprobation of the crime against the peace of the world by which Alsace and Lorraine were forcibly torn from France in 1871—a political blunder the effects of which have contributed in no small degree to the continuance of unrest and the growth of militarism in Europe—and, profoundly sympathizing with the unfortunate inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine, who have been subjected to so much repression, asks in accordance with the declarations of the French Socialists that they shall be allowed, under the protection of the supernational authority, or League of Nations, freely to decide what shall be their future political position.

(c) THE BALKANS

The British Labor movement suggests that the whole problem of the reorganization of the administration of the peoples of the Balkan Peninsula might be dealt with by a Special Conference of their representatives, or by an authoritative International Commission, on the basis of (a) the complete freedom of these people to settle their own destinies, irrespective of Austrian, Turkish, or other foreign dominion; (b) the independent sovereignties of the several nationalities in those districts in which these are largely predominant; (c) the universal adoption of religious tolerance, the equal citizenship of all races, and local autonomy; (d) a Customs Union

embracing the whole of the Balkan States, and (e) the entry of all the Balkan National States into a Federation for the concerted arrangement by mutual agreement among themselves of all matters of common concern.

(d) ITALY

The British Labor movement declares its warmest sympathy with the people of Italian blood and speech who have been left outside the inconvenient and indefensible boundaries that have as a result of the diplomatic agreements of the past been assigned to the Kingdom of Italy, and supports their claim to be united with those of their own race and tongue. It realizes that arrangements may be necessary for securing the legitimate interests of the people of Italy in the adjacent seas, but it has no sympathy with the far-reaching aims of conquest of Italian imperialism, and believes that all legitimate needs can be safeguarded without precluding a like recognition of the needs of others or an annexation of other people's territories.

(e) POLAND, ETC.

With regard to the other cases in dispute, from Luxemburg on the one hand, of which the independence has been temporarily destroyed, to the lands now under foreign domination inhabited by other races—the outstanding example being that of the Poles—the British Labor movement relies, as the only way of achieving a lasting settlement, on the application of the principle of allowing each people to settle its own destiny.

(f) THE JEWS AND PALESTINE

The British Labor movement demands for the Jews of all countries the same elementary rights of tolerance, freedom of residence and trade, and equal citizenship that ought to be extended to all the inhabitants of every nation. But it further expresses the hope that it may be practicable by agreement among all the nations to set free Palestine from the harsh and oppressive government of the Turk, in order that the country may form a free State, under international guarantee, to which such of the Jewish people as desire to do so may return and work out their own salvation, free from interference by those of alien race or religion.

(g) THE PROBLEM OF THE TURKISH EMPIRE

The whole civilized world condemns the handing back to the universally execrated rule of the Turkish Government any subject people which has once been freed from it. Thus whatever may be proposed with regard to Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia they cannot be restored to the tyranny of the Sultan and his pashas.

The British Labor movement disclaims all sympathy with the imperialist aims of governments and capitalists who would make of these and other territories now dominated by the Turkish hordes merely instruments either of exploitation or militarism. If in these territories it is impracticable to leave it to the peoples to settle their own destinies, the British Labor movement insists that, conformably with the policy of "no annexations," they should be placed for administration in the hands of a commission acting under the supernational authority, or League of Nations. It is further sug-

gested that the peace of the world requires that Constantinople should be made a free port, permanently neutralized, and placed (together with both shores of the Dardanelles and possibly some or all of Asia Minor) under the same impartial administration.

(h) THE COLONIES OF TROPICAL AFRICA

With regard to the colonies of the several belligerents in tropical Africa from sea to sea—whether including all north of the Zambesi River and south of the Sahara Desert, or only those lying between 15 degrees north and 15 degrees south latitude, which are already the subject of international control—the British Labor movement disclaims all sympathy with the imperialist idea that these should form the booty of any nation, should be exploited for the profit of the capitalist, or should be used for the promotion of the militarist aims of governments. In view of the fact that it is impracticable here to leave the various peoples concerned to settle their own destinies, it is suggested that the interests of humanity would be best served by the full and frank abandonment by all the belligerents of any dreams of an African empire; the transfer of the present colonies of the European powers in tropical Africa, however the limits of this area may be defined, to the proposed supernational authority, or League of Nations, herein suggested, and their administration under the legislative council of that authority as a single, independent African State, with its own trained staff, on the principles of (1) taking account in each locality of the wishes of the people when these can be ascertained; (2) protection of the natives against exploitation and oppression and the preservation of their tribal interests; (3) all revenues raised to be expended for the welfare and development of the African State itself, and (4) the permanent neutralization of this African State and its abstention from participation in international rivalries or any future wars.

(i) OTHER CASES

The British Labor movement suggests that any other territories, in which it is proposed that the future safeguarding of pacific relations makes necessary a transfer of sovereignty, should be made the subject of amicable bargaining, with an equivalent exchange in money or otherwise.

4. ECONOMIC RELATIONS

The British Labor movement declares against all the projects now being prepared by imperialists and capitalists not in any one country only, but in most countries, for an economic war after peace has been secured, either against one or other foreign nation or against all foreign nations, as such an economic war if begun by any country would inevitably lead to reprisals, to which each nation in turn might in self-defense be driven.

It realizes that all such attempts at economic aggression, whether by protective tariffs or capitalist trusts or monopolies, inevitably result in the spoliation of the working classes of the several countries for the profit of the capitalists; and the British workmen see in the alliance between the military imperialists and the fiscal protectionists in any country whatsoever not only a serious danger to the prosperity of the masses of the people, but also a grave menace to peace.

On the other hand, if unfortunately a genuine peace cannot be secured, the right of each nation to the defense of its own economic interests and, in face of the world shortage hereinafter mentioned, to the conservation for its own people of a sufficiency of its own supplies of foodstuffs and raw material cannot be denied.

The British Labor movement, accordingly, urges upon the Labor parties of all countries the importance of insisting, in the attitude of the government toward commercial enterprises, along with the necessary control of supplies for its own people, on the principle of the open door, on customs duties being limited strictly to revenue purposes, and on there being no hostile discrimination against foreign countries. But it urges equally the importance not merely of conservation, but also of the utmost possible development by appropriate government action of the resources of every country for the benefit not only of its own people, but also of the world, and the need for an international agreement for the enforcement in all countries of the legislation on factory conditions, hours of labor, and the prevention of sweating and unhealthy trades necessary to protect the workers against exploitation and oppression.

5. THE PROBLEMS OF PEACE

To make the world safe for democracy involves much more than the prevention of war, either military or economic. It will be a device of the capitalist interests to pretend that the treaty of peace need concern itself only with the cessation of the struggle of the armed forces and with any necessary territorial readjustments. The British Labor movement insists that, in view of the probable world-wide shortage after the war of exportable foodstuffs and raw materials and of merchant shipping, it is imperative, in order to prevent the most serious hardships and even possible famine in one country or another, that systematic arrangements should be made on an international basis for the allocation and conveyance of the available exportable surpluses of these commodities to the different countries in proportion not to their purchasing powers, but to their several pressing needs, and that within each country the government must for some time maintain its control of the most indispensable commodities in order to secure their appropriation, not in a competitive market, mainly to the richer classes, in proportion to their means, but systematically, to meet the most urgent needs of the whole community, on the principle of "No cake for any one until all have bread."

Moreover, it cannot but be anticipated that in all countries the dislocation of industry attendant on peace, the instant discharge of millions of munition workers and workers in war trades, and the demobilization of soldiers—in face of the scarcity of industrial capital, the shortage of raw materials, and the insecurity of commercial enterprise—will, unless prompt and energetic action be taken by the several governments, plunge a large part of the wage-earning population into all the miseries of unemployment, more or less prolonged. In view of the fact that widespread unemployment in any country, like a famine, is an injury not to that country alone, but impoverishes also the rest of the world, the British Labor movement holds that it is the duty of every government to take immediate action not merely to relieve the unemployed when unemployment has set

in, but actually, so far as may be practicable, to prevent the occurrence of unemployment.

It therefore urges upon the Labor parties of every country the necessity of their pressing upon their governments the preparation of plans for the execution of all the innumerable public works (such as the making and repairing of roads and railways, the erection of schools and public buildings, the provision of working-class dwellings, and the reclamation and afforestation of land) that will be required in the near future not for the sake of finding measures of relief for the unemployed, but with a view to these works being undertaken at such a rate in each locality as will suffice, together with the various capitalist enterprises that may be in progress, to maintain at a fairly uniform level year by year and throughout each year the aggregate demand for labor, and thus prevent there being any unemployed. It is now known that in this way it is quite possible for any government to prevent, if it chooses, the very occurrence of any widespread or prolonged involuntary unemployment, which, if it is now in any country allowed to occur, is as much the result of government neglect as is any epidemic disease.

6. RESTORATION AND REPARATION

The British Labor movement holds that one of the most imperative duties of all countries immediately peace is declared will be the restoration, so far as may be possible, of the homes, farms, factories, public buildings, and means of communication in France, Belgium, Tyrol, and North Italy, East Prussia, Poland, Galicia, Russia, Roumania, the Balkans, Greece, Armenia, Asia Minor, and Central Africa; that the restoration should not be limited to compensation for public buildings, capitalist undertakings, and material property proved to be destroyed or damaged, but should be extended to setting up the wage-earners and peasants themselves in homes and employments; and that to insure the full and impartial application of these principles the assessment and distribution of the compensation, so far as the cost is contributed by any international fund, should be made under the direction of an International Commission.

But the British Labor movement will not be satisfied unless a full and free judicial investigation be made into the accusations, so freely made on all sides, that particular governments have ordered, and particular officers have exercised, acts of cruelty, oppression, violence, and theft against individual victims for which no justification can be found in the ordinary usages of war. It draws attention in particular to the loss of life and property of merchant seamen and other non-combatants (including women and children) resulting from this inhuman and ruthless conduct.

It should be part of the conditions of peace that there should be forthwith set up a court of claims and accusations, which should investigate all such allegations as may be brought before it, summon the accused person or government to answer the complaint, to pronounce judgment and award compensation or damages, payable by the individual or government condemned, to the persons who had suffered wrong or to their dependents. The several governments must be responsible, financially and otherwise, for the presentation of the cases of their respective nationals to such a court of claims and accusations.

BOLSHEVIKI PEACE TERMS

I. The evacuation of all Russian territory occupied by Germany, and autonomy for Poland and the Lithuanian and Lettish provinces.

II. Autonomy for Turkish Armenia.

III. Settlement of the question of Alsace-Lorraine by plebiscite, with a guarantee of perfect freedom of vote.

IV. The restoration of Belgium and indemnity for damages to be provided by an international financial fund.

V. The restoration of Serbia and Montenegro, with indemnity for damages to be taken out of a similar international fund. Serbia, moreover, to have access to the Adriatic; Bosnia and Herzegovina to have complete autonomy.

VI. Other contested territory in the Balkans to enjoy temporary autonomy until a plebiscite is taken.

VII. Roumania to recover all territory within her previous frontiers, after promising to grant autonomy to the Dobrudja and to give effect to article 3 of the Berlin convention concerning the equality of the rights of Jews.

VIII. Autonomy for the regions Trent and Trieste, inhabited by Italian populations, until a plebiscite is taken.

IX. Germany to receive back her colonies.

The colonies of Germany have a population of only 12,000,000 souls. The question of their possession does not justify the sacrifice of a single life.

X. Restoration of Persia and Greece.

XI. Neutralization of all maritime straits leading to inland seas, including the canals of Suez and Panama; freedom of commercial navigation; the canceling of all charters during war time of enemy ships, and the torpedoing of commercial ships on the high seas to be forbidden by international agreement.

XII. All belligerents to renounce war indemnities under any form or disguise, and all contributions exacted since the beginning of the war to be refunded.

XIII. All belligerents to renounce definitely any commercial boycott after the war or the institution of special customs and agreements.

XIV. Peace conditions to be settled by a peace congress composed of delegates chosen by national representative bodies; diplomats to bind themselves to sign no secret treaties, which are to be declared, by their nature, null and void.

XV. Gradual disarmament on land and sea, and the reestablishment of militia to replace standing armies.

AN ECHO IN GERMANY.—A recent cable dispatch from Amsterdam gave the details of the founding in Munich of a new political party known as the "Free Committee." This move was made under the leadership of Professor Foerster, who has held what may be termed "unorthodox views" of the war. At the first meeting of the Free Committee a resolution relative to peace negotiations was passed and telegraphed to the Reichstag. According to the cabled report, this resolution began as follows: "Despite its partiality, President Wilson's message contains a practicable basis for the inauguration of negotiations for a general peace."